584 If the young man has noticed a girl or has already come to an understanding with her, he goes to her parents, introduces himself first to the father, who usually shows his most amiable side and recommends the young man to his daughter. Even though the lover did not obtain the girl's agreement beforehand -- something which can be accomplished with a few words in a brief encounter -- he will nonetheless find little opposition. The relations with the "father-in-law" and above all with the "mother-in-law" are as cordial and tender as can be. The young man brings his "mother-in-law" a little present, European salt or other things that women [431] love, and he also endears himself to the father through little attentions or presents, while the parents or the girl herself entertain the guest to the best of their ability. A natural tact causes the Pangwe to avoid mentioning anything that touches upon his relations to the girl in his contact with her family. Indeed, his delicacy with respect to the "parents-in-law" grows into a false sense of shame:

wõ'-oson a vŭ mabā'de
[539] (The) feeling -- shame, it dies (from) frambesia

menkī,ē'.
(of the) parents-in-law (relatives by marriage).

The sense of shame has caused a person to die from frambesia transmitted by the parents-in-law, that is, a suitor was afraid, from a sense of shame, to turn down the food offered him by the girl's father who was suffering from frambesia. He ate with the man from one bowl, caught the disease, and died.

584 836 To the girl herself the lover usually brings half a piece of material -- valued at one mark -- (among the Jaunde he brings a whole piece). In his courtship, the lover does not usually arrive at the desired goal right away, for it is customary for the girl, even if she grants the young man her affection and /256/ sleeps in the same bed with him, to refuse sexual intercourse with him during the first night. (See the tale on p. 132).

The reason for this custom lies in oson, the feeling of shame toward the talk of other people. The two parties know each other perfectly well as regards their lechery, but they pretend to be quite

584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the
[177] use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nsōm); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nžīla, especially the older ones, the

[802] [211] 1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

583 between 500 and 600 marks in the south. Devaluation of the money, which has also taken place in Africa, has considerably raised the price in comparison to what it was formerly.

583 The purchase price cannot be paid in money (spear money) 4% alone, in cattle alone, or in any specific type of goods alone; 435 instead, all the objects of exchange which are in circulation must be represented. Thus, in 1906, for instance, the following things were paid for a woman in the Fang region:

6,000 spears	420. -- marks
12 rifles	120. -- marks
2 vats of powder . . .	4. -- marks
70 choppers	70. -- marks
2 sheep	50. -- marks
2 iron pots	8. -- marks
10 pieces of cloth . . .	40. -- marks
5 hats	10. -- marks
13 kettles of salt @ 2. -- marks	26. -- marks
2 knives	2. -- marks
2 packages of beads . .	2. -- marks
2 tobacco pipes . . .	---. 50 mark
2 packages of flints . .	--. 50 mark
1 hatful of buttons . .	--. 50 mark
	753. 50 marks /261/

Any existing illegitimate children go along with the marriage [848] bargain. In fact, the bridegroom has to pay 500 spears for a boy and 1,000 spears for a girl; incidentally, he is only too glad to do so, because each child means an addition to his wealth.

I shall not go into a discussion of the endless number of quar- 578 rels that arise on the occasion of a marriage, especially when 583 the entire purchase price is not paid at once. Nor shall I speak of the fact that the girl's father likes to steer his daughter, even if she is in love with another, into the hands of the man who can pay the most or the most readily. All this would lead too far afield.

606 If the girl stays in her parents house and if the payment of 583 the purchase price extends over weeks and months, the suitor has 584

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
606 in-law (ni e-ngɔ̌n III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24). And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

[539] [524]

ŋzɛ̌'n	e	bönsüe,	e	ne	kaangǎ
Way	of the	lizards,	it	is (in the)	reeds (Cyperus)

Solution:

ŋzɛ̌'n	e	bonǐ ɛ́ngɔ̄'n,	e	n'	a	
Way	of the	mother-in-law,	it	is	on (the)	stretch
fá						
behind	the houses.					

585 On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
535 celebrates with a sizable dance, for which all adorn themselves to
[302] the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, because it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets. The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager. There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which the dschama is particularly popular which are also customary on other occasions.

583 to look for her, he gives them what he has in the way of money and goods, and the parents have to consent to the marriage by accepting this first payment. This practice is called abom.

●584 This practice is exceptional, and the marriage proposal is generally made in a more conventional way. A man, having learned that there is a free woman in a neighboring tribe, a young girl or a repudiated wife, goes to the woman's parents and asks to see her. She comes [576] into the hut, sits down, and allows herself to be looked at. She does not speak if she has never been married, but she speaks if she is used to men; then she goes out after about an hour. Her brothers ask her opinion of the suitor and take the answer to the latter, who gives his opinion of the woman he has seen. This visit is called dzāga. If both agree to marry, they spend the night together; the man may leave in the morning without saying anything if the woman has not suited him and he does not wish to marry her. If it is the woman who is not satisfied, she asks her brothers to tell the suitor not to come back. In case of agreement, the suitor goes back several times for several days. The father of the woman fixes the amount of the dowry, and the suitor has to accept it.

586 If a married woman, not wishing to stay with her husband, goes off with another man, the latter pays the woman's parents the amount of the dowry which was paid by the former husband. This practice is fairly recent. In earlier times the former husband received the dowry of his successor directly or, if he refused it, it was a case of war unless another woman was given him in exchange.

583 595 Marriage is not considered final until the dowry has been paid in full by the husband. The amount is variable, currently about 1,500 or 2,000 francs, in money or in various goods. The woman leaves her tribe and goes to live with her husband. Her arrival at her new village is marked by celebrations. [89] She is accompanied by women who cry out "e e ke o o o o ko"; these cries are called mekogo. The husband's mother recites to her the genealogy of her son; then the bride goes into her husband's hut where the women of her husband's family bring her food. She is confined here for a week, and this is the "good welcome to the bride," eyale mbom.

585 535 Two days after the arrival of the bride, there are songs and dances performed by women only: these are the bya bi mbom. The men play the tomtom and are spectators. This takes place near the husband's hut.

581 specific social meaning; it creates bonds (abè) which fasten together
554 the family and clan groupings. Curault points out that this imposes
562 a "close union, in spite of divergencies in language and in spite of the palavers of the different parts of the Pahouin people." At the same time, marriage [120] has a personal meaning. In traditional
[556] Fang society the possession of many wives is the principal sign of wealth and the condition for all increase of wealth. This wealth conditions the importance of the social role; it makes possible the acquisition of a kind of personal power in a society with hardly any hierarchical system. (1)

1. Let us point out that two words with the same root, éval and évala, mean "polygamy" and "a prop, a support," respectively.

836 Because of this personal element the competition for women can become particularly keen. Very early, government reports pointed out the frequency of palavers due to the "women question," and they continue to complain of them as being characteristic of "Fang society and psychology." Let us state at the outset that the competition does not concern the sexual services demanded from the woman. For the unmarried men there are various compensating possibilities -- but only in the line of "lustful sexuality," to quote the expression of R. Bastide. (2) The young unmarried people have

2. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine, Paris, 1950.

complete sexual liberty among themselves: it is the custom called azòya-angòn (azòya, fornication; ngòn, maiden). E. Trezenem states in his monograph on the Fang of the Ogooué that "virginity of the woman is considered of no importance," that "the young
836 girls are free to give themselves to whomever they want." Then
584 he adds an "important restriction," saying that there are practically

836 no young girls, the little girls being married very early by their
584 parents, sometimes even before their birth." (3) This restriction

3. E. Trezenem, "Notes éthnographiques [Ethnographical Notes]," op. cit., p. 87.

is entirely relative, for, according to L. Mba, "the custom allows the betrothed to have as many lovers as she wants during the time of her engagement." M. Bertaut specifies similarly that "the young girl is free as far as her body is concerned so long as she has no husband," which may represent a long period of freedom, considering the time it takes to settle a bride price that is always very large. There exists also a kind of tolerated, it not established,
837 prostitution, since the husband may "place one of his wives under
[546] obligation to bring him some income by prostituting herself to strangers." (4) Certain customs, such as the placing of a wife at

4. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 29; and V. Largeau, Encyclopédie Pahouine [Pahuin Encyclopedia], article on adultery": ... "a husband is always free to lend his wife on condition of a certain payment... ."

the disposal of a guest, or the lending or [121] exchanging of a wife (1) as a token of friendship (the wife becoming munõgo ângôm,

1. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit.:" ... the rules of good hospitality require the host to put one of his wives at the disposal of the one whom he is entertaining. On the other hand, it is a current custom for two good neighbors who respect each other to exchange wives from time to time, and this is a definite indication of mutual sympathy." Also, Captain Maignan,

581 word abè meaning both the bond and those joined) imposing peace
585 and mutual assistance. In this way the two essential functions of the woman are revealed: she is an element of fecundity and a maker of peace and assistance. These are the elements on which traditional Fang society is based. Hence it is easy to understand the control exercised by the group by restricting freedom of choice of a spouse – through the medium of the head of the family, it seeks the alliance which will be of greatest advantage to it (3) – and by

> 3. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., "In the past the opinion of the interested parties mattered little. The request is made by the head of one family to the head of another family."

intervening when the flight or rape of the woman would compromise the equilibrium brought about by the marriage.

583 The method itself of marriage marks the development of a
584 series of exchanges between the two family groups it unites. With the first phase known as the "betrothal," dzâga, the young man acquires pre-eminence over the chosen girl. He has the right to live with her for several days, but his family must provide the "fiancée's"parents with the first presents and must lend assistance at the time of various undertakings (clearing undergrowth, building huts, hunting [123] or fishing expeditions). During this period the girl's father determines the amount of the bride price, "nswa. The second period corresponds to the payment of this bride price, which may be made at intervals, provided that the first payment be the largest. This often gives rise to arguments and palavers. On the other hand, the ŋkia ("he who has received the bride price") is obliged to bring compensation in the form of gifts, usually of animals, which are called mévalö. Finally, the third phase corresponds to the "handing over of the fiancée" and to her settlement in the midst of the family grouping of the young man. It involves the ceremony we have described. The woman, according to Largeau, becomes truly the wife (môn̄ga), and not merely the concubine, from the moment when she is able to cook for her husband after

583 "her mother has come and prepared with her the first meal." (1)
584

1. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Épouser [Getting Married].

This final ceremony, as M. Leenhardt has noted in other areas, has the character of a "communal manducation"; (2) it concludes a

2. M. Leenhardt, "Cérémonie et sceau du mariage [Ceremony and Seal of Marriage]," Le Monde Non Chrétien, 15, 1950.

phase in which the ties born of reciprocity are strengthened by an intimate communion between the members of the allied groupings. Afterwards the exchanges continue in the form of visits, assistance, and reciprocal gifts, particularly at the birth of children, when the husband is obliged to give presents to his family-in-law. This reciprocity must have been more direct in olden times, for some Fang can remember when marriages were made by exchanging wives. A young Pahouin author, F. Meyé, writes that "cases of such marriages (called "bikour mêngong") are known "but are very rare. (3) In spite of the medium of the bride price, this reciprocity

3. Cf. François Méyé, "Pour la Jeunesse Fang [For Fang Youth], Journal A.E.F., July 25, 1948.

is manifested in a nonequivocal manner. The interminable process it involves, which led Dr. Cureau to compare the family-in-law to innumerable leeches, (4) nevertheless guarantees the durability

4. And to write: "There are ceaseless demands under the most bizarre pretexts, the fiancée's first menses, first conjugal cohabitation, first signs of pregnancy, childbirth ..." in Sociétés primitives, p. 117.

583 of the alliance. (5)
584

5. Cf., on the importance of these facts of reciprocity and their role in so-called primitive societies, the remarkable work of C. Levi-Strauss devoted to the study of Structures élémentaires de la Parenté [Elementary Structures of Kinship], Paris, 1949.

581 As it circulates, the bride price weaves a network of ties
583 between groupings which, without the obligation of exogamy, would
578 have lived as so many biological, economic, and political units
595 retired within themselves. [124] It compels co-operation; it creates zones of security in a country where, at a time of conquest, the economic competition is severe (as regards the best land for cultivation and hunting, and the trade centers and roads). In addition the double exogamy multiplies these abé bonds, and the specific recognition of the maternal kinship reinforces, as we have suggested, these bonds, The circulation of women and in a parallel direction that of the bride prices have to be minutely regulated. This function belongs to the head of the nd'è bòt, to the ntòl, the latter signifying not only "ancient" but also "arbiter, envoy, ambassador." He is custodian of wealth and giver of women. At the level of the segment of brothers (bobèñâg), the principle that bride prices received at the time of the marriage of daughters are used to marry the sons in the order of their birth is completed by the obligation of the eldest brother to contribute to the formation of a bride price necessary for the marriage of the younger brother who does not benefit by such a compensation. Certainly this principle which was meant to regulate the distribution of the women and to limit competition has not turned out to be infallible. Antagonisms between the "eldest" [brothers] and younger brothers leading to the breaking up of groupings are often explained by this obligation not being met. (1) The oldest men can take advantage of their pre-

1. Cf. supra, pp. 112-113.

eminence in order to buy up the greatest number of wives. Finally,

583 common, appears as the sign of exceptional success, which explains the prestige of the nkukuma who owns a greater number of wives and more property (bium). The price characteristic manifested now in the bride price is a recent transformation. Originally, its final payment sealed an alliance that could not be broken without a long process of "divorce"; one which survived even the man who enabled it to be, since the wife was transferred to the eldest son or the oldest brother; and one which, above all, legitimized the ownership of posterity: if the bride price was not paid in full, the newborn child belonged to the parents of the wife; if not fully paid back [126] at the time of a "divorce," the child belonged to the father. The fact that the bride price is not refunded at the death of the wife, when the latter leaves posterity, does not suggest that it is a matter of the price of the latter, but rather a reciprocity emphasizing that through the posterity the alliance has become a kinship.

562 584 We have thus endeavored to show the social importance of marriage, pointing out particularly the fundamental role of the links it establishes between groups and the pre-eminence attached to controlling the circulation of the women and their bride prices. But obviously this system does not always function smoothly. A lack of equilibrium exists between the meaning it has for the grouping and the meaning it might have for the individuals concerned. Certain rules of procedure, recognized by custom, provide solutions for possible conflicts. The marriage agreed to by the young people may take place against the wish of the family heads following the rape (abòm) of the girl (1); the wife has various methods [839]

1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 88: "The young man gives what he has in money and goods, and the parents are obliged to agree to the marriage by accepting this first payment."

of recourse against a seriously prejudicial union. Her complaint may result in her marriage to another of the sons of her father-in-law, or else she may go to a man of her choice who pays the

562 compensation, or she may "publicly curse her husband." (2)
584

2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Femme [Woman].

562 Finally, in the case of serious conflicts, the union may be dissolved
586 by "divorce," but the latter may only be used traditionally under well-defined circumstances and "with the assent of the two interested family heads." (3) There are therefore arrangements that allow

3. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 21.

personal reasons to be taken into account and which F. Meyé had in mind when he said, "the Fang woman can in no way be compared to a slave," because of the many kinds of recourse she has at her disposal; these arrangements play a wholly exceptional role in ancient Fang society. Beside the personal element, which also acts as a disturbing element, is the fact that the number of unions indicates wealth and social importance. (4) It results, when the

4. This element is shown particularly in the custom reported by L. Mba: "In comfortably off families, the parents betroth the boys before puberty and the girls after puberty," op. cit., p. 14.

circulation of goods is no longer strictly controlled, in keen competition and numerous disputes.

582 It is now essential to consider the persons concerned in the
835 play of marriage and to point out at once that certain persons [127] are excluded from it. Apart from the double exogamy which introduces a form of "fraternity" in a very broad sense of the word, there are prohibitions concerning the precise degrees of relationship as follows: between members of the taġa class (father, mother, uncle, aunt) and the mwanõ class (sons and daughters, nephews and nieces); between members of the same segment, including cousins to the third generation; there are prohibitions on those

they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) (1), imported merchandise (biôm), especially loincloths, guns and

1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

584 uncle, a full brother or a half brother on the father's side. The custom persists in the better families, even if the future spouses' consent is asked or if the initiative for the union comes from them. When this is impossible, for instance among emigrants, it is still the correct thing for the prospective husband to use the offices of an older person, perhaps even an administrative superior, who arranges the marriage,
583 kômesan aluk. To the nsuba proper are added customary presents to the future mother-in-law and affinal family, which are the more important when payment of the nsuba is in periodic installments (as it more and more tends to be). After the first installment is paid, there
834 is a bethrothal, and the young girl, who before that has enjoyed sexual freedom, is from now on theoretically supposed to be faithful. Sexual relations with the prospective husband often begin at this time, if they have not already. The Christian ceremony and the civil registry take place when a portion of the bride price, amounting to from a quarter to a half, has been paid. In former times the bride used to remain in seclusion before going in procession from her village, where the groom's family came to fetch her, to her conjugal residence. After consummation of the marriage, she would with her mother's help cook the first meal served to her husband. These practices have fallen into general disuse.

Up to a recent date, on the other hand, the custom persisted—now prohibited officially—of "paying bride price" for a girl who had not reached puberty, even for a fetus or an unconceived child, who would go to live with her affinal family almost as soon as she was weaned, there to be brought up either by her mother-in-law or by her husband's first wife, whom she would look upon as her ntyi (mother-in-law). The marriage would be consummated after the girl's second menstruation (ayene ngon = to see the moon).

583 The mfañ aluk form of marriage is the most usual nowadays. It
691 leads to many lawsuits in connection with deciding who is to be the nya ndômô to collect the "bride price." As the ntôl môt's authority has weakened, especially when he is not the girl's real father /sic/, uncles and brothers quarrel over who is to receive the nsuba. Some emancipated young women, particularly those who are mistresses of Europeans, decide the matter by collecting it themselves, but this is very much frowned on.

586 The "bride price" is given back to the husband in the case of divorce, to the fiancé in the case of a broken betrothal, caused, for example, by the premature death of the fiancée.

3. Marriage

119 I do not know of any truly totemic act among the com-
562 plicated religious rites connected with marriage. This absence
583 must come from the fact that women are considered to be in themselves independent of the totem.

584 Before marriage, especially before starting to make the
119 rounds of the villages in order to pick out a future companion, a young man first builds a sort of triumphal arch in front of his hut. A creeper decorated with various bits of cheap finery, fabric, green leaves, flowering branches, and ava flowers, is stretched from his house to the one opposite, on the other side of the public square or the main street of the village. Before his hut two shrubs garnished in similar fashion have their tops bound together to form a triumphal arch. The young man opens the biéri box, removes his family totem and a skull and puts them before the statue of the biéri. Then for hours, endless songs and dances will be performed. When the young man is exhausted, one of his friends takes over. The songs and dances last far into the night and start again at dawn. No one may interrupt or even enter the hut, otherwise the entire ceremony would have to be begun all over again. A woman's glance at the biéri or totem, or that of a strange man, would be enough to bring this about. Therefore, one of the young man's friends is constantly on guard to prevent such an accident; he stands in front of the hut door and sees to it that people move along briskly.

[583] This rite only takes place when a youth is contemplating marriage by abduction. He wishes in this manner to gain the good will of the biéri, the ancestors, and the totem.

On the third day in the evening the ritual dances end.
[582] The young man immediately offers a final sacrifice, usually of a cock, a hen, and some maize, following the prescribed forms. Then, since he is not permitted to rest for even a moment, he starts out, carrying the cock, hen, and maize as his only provisions; he is not allowed to take along anything else.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

gourd mentioned above). They put oil in it. They keep it hidden. No one else 832
is allowed to see it.

When the woman cooks food for her husband, she takes the medicine, which she puts in the neck of the gourd, and puts it in her husband's food, then his heart is changed. In the evening the woman smears herself with the *abatoŋ*, which she had put in the small gourd. When she and her husband lie down, if she touches her husband, the medicine which she has eaten makes his heart change. Though he liked her before, now he loves her on account of the *biang-abationg*.

This is the *Biang-abationg*.

Biang-mikal (adultery medicine).—People go and scrape medicine in the bush. 837
If they come with the medicine, they put it in the pot. They put water in the pot. 755
They go and catch a fowl. They cut the fowl's neck; they put the blood in the 695
medicine with the scrapings from trees. They take medicine that is in the water, they pour it on the person's head. They also take a certain medicine called *ngwcia* and rub it on the face of the sick person. They again rub it on his belly. Then they have cured the person of the *minkal*. The fowl used is not to be eaten by the sick person, others may do so. Then he is healed.

This is the same medicine used to detect adultery. If a person commits 837
adultery with another man's wife, and then speaks a lie denying the affair, the 795
person accused must drink the *biang-mikal* to show the people he is innocent. If he is guilty the medicine makes him sick, and he dies or trouble comes to his people. If guilty, medicine is made to call the curse back.

This is the *Biang-mikal*.

Biang-ndona (medicine for young men, eloping medicine).—If a person goes on 584 ●
a journey and sees a virgin, he courts or loves her. Then the virgin accepts him. 832
He and she go and lie down. The young man says, "Let us go in my town." If the 583
virgin does not accept, then the young man tries to persuade her. The virgin says, "I go later." The young man says, "If you go later, give me hair for a souvenir." Then the virgin scratches over her heart. She takes the hair of her head and the blood from the scratch over her heart and gives it to the young man. He goes to his town, he says, "I'll first make medicine." He takes the hair and the blood. He takes a small piece of witch medicine. He also takes plenty of leaves. He puts the small piece of witch medicine with the leaves. The hair and the blood he also puts in the leaves. He mixes all in the leaves. He hangs them in the *bieti* basket. He says, "*Bieti*, I want to marry a woman. Take her for me." This eloping medicine hangs one day. In the morning he cuts medicine and puts it on top of a tree. He leaves the medicine on top of the tree. He goes again to the young virgin. He says, "I have come, I come to take you." The young virgin says, "I will go to-morrow." He sleeps. The young man when day breaks says, "Let us go." The young virgin says, "I will surely go." Then the young man elopes with the young virgin; he comes with her to his town. Father of the young virgin he comes vexed. The young man kills a goat for the father of the young virgin. They finish eating the goat. He (the father) sleeps one day. Next morning the young man

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832 584 583 gives him (the father) the *beki* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *biang-ndoma*, eloping medicine thus.

This is *Biang-ndoma*.

721 789 *Biang-akong* (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-deu, a Fang, Esisis clan, at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *biang* was illustrated to me; a leopard tooth is the *Biang-akong*.

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tabe si* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Biang-akong*.

789 619 622 *Biang-akamayong*.—This *biang* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*ayóng*, tribe).

Told me by Esôya-ôvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, who sold me the complete set of the *Biang-akamayong* belonging to the dead headman "Commisan." I present this *biang* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mon nguri*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

[726] [534] This *biang-akamayong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war.

A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nko.—The small horn belonging to the *biang-akamayong* has *ngom* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngom* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Esôya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *biang-akamayong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Esôya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *biang-akamayong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

789 619 *Mouⁱ.*—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the *biang-akamayong*.

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *biang e soli* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biang-akamayong* invisible to the enemy.